TROTSKY: THE „THIRD PERIOD"

THE MILITANT

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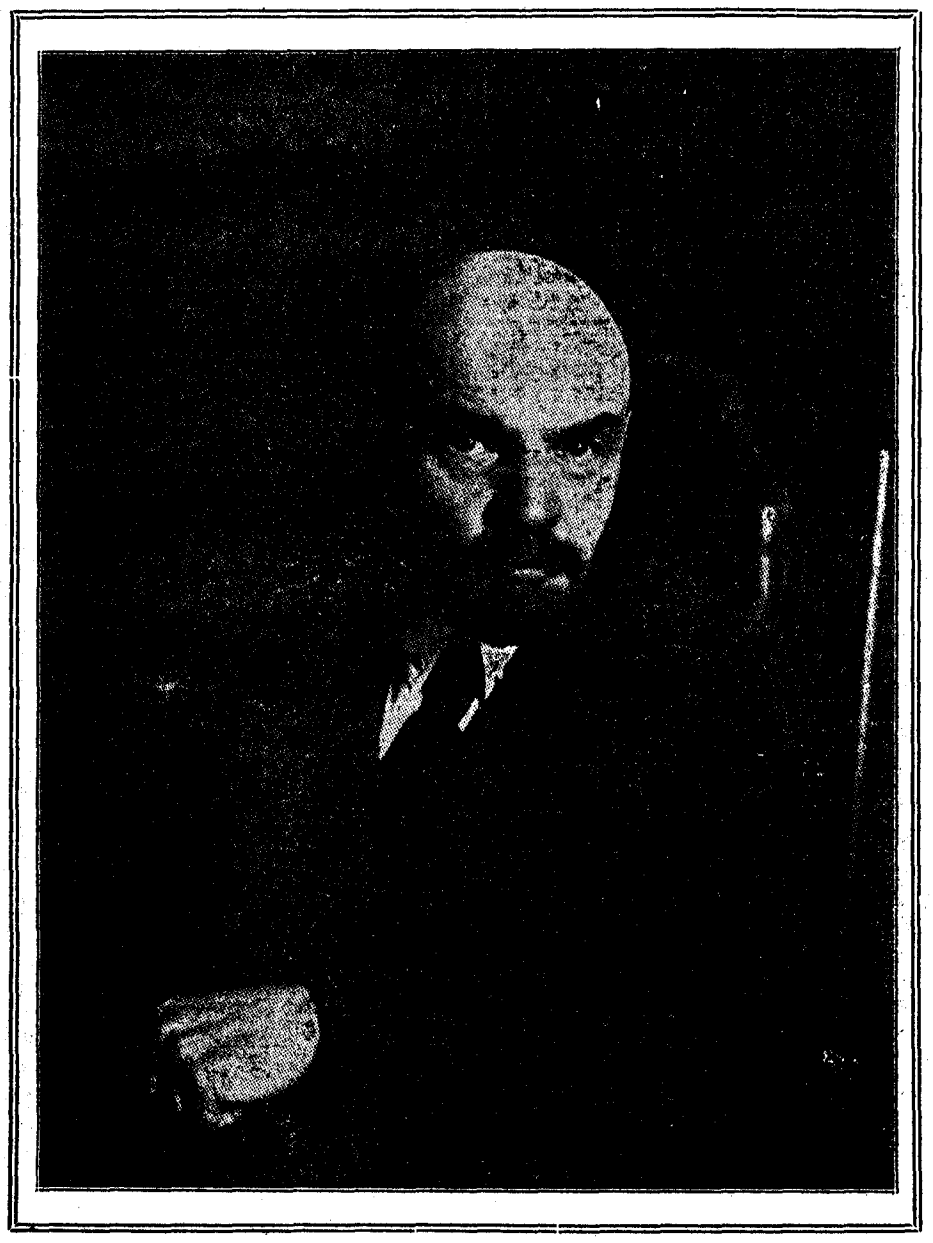

Leninism Lives!

The Opposition Carries It Forward

Every class society not only produced the movement working for its destruction but the directing genius with whose name the movement is associated. Luther, Napoleon, Cromwell, Lincoln, Bismarck, Robespierre—each of them marks a turning point in society. They are men who were at once the made and the makers of history. But these men, their contemporaries and predecessors, were limited by the very nature of the milieu. While their names are associated with the progress of society in one way or another, they were all the banner-bearers of classes which, in liberating themselves from the fetters of a ruling class, enslaved others in turn.

The Great Men of the Proletarlat

The fundamental difference between the great men of bourgeois history and all preceding societies, and the great men of the proletarian revolution is that the latter, in the movement for working class freedom from capitalist class rule, finally liberate all of humanity from class society and open up an entirely new historical era. For this profound social reason, the leaders of the proletarian revolution already tower above all the doers of the past, and the niche they occupy in history still to be written will make them even more prominent. And of these leaders, one of the greatest—if not the outstanding man among them all—is Lenin.

Without capitalism and without the revolutionary proletariat, there could be no Lenin. He was the child of their present and the father of the future. The symbol of the final struggle, he presided over the dying writhings of the one and the painful birth of the other. The struggle between the new and the old therefore stamped his whole life and work.

No article can pretend to give even the briefest resume of his life. It can only mention its most prominent and characteristic features, those that raised Lenin far above the shoulders even of his fellow-fighters and made his name the shibboleth of a world movement.

Foremost in Lenin was his unswerving confidence in the victory of the proletariat, organized and led by its most conscious and determined section, the revolutionary party. For more than twenty years he devoted himself to the formation, clarification and strengthening of the principal arm of the Russian working class, the Bolshevik Party. He persistently pointed out that the working class as grouped together by capitalist production, without organization, or even with the elementary organization of trade unions, cooperative groups, etc. could carry on a defensive struggle against the daily encroachments of the capitalist class, but never the successful struggle for power. It was a cardinal point in his work, tested and proved in life in 1917, that only by possessing an organized political vanguard, a party embracing the most active, devoted and clearest elements of the class, embodying and crystallizing all the experiences of the struggle, serving as a guide and leader, could the working class rise to the position of the ruling class and free itself from exploitation. With Lenin,the revolutionary proletarian party was the only door through which the working class might enter the realm of power and maintain itself there.

The 1917 revolution in Russia—the greatest experience of the international working class—demonstrated the validity of Lenin's life work. The Bolshevik party was the instrument that brought order out of capitalist chaos and installed the working class as master of one-sixth of the earth. The Bolshevik party successfully repulsed not only the attacks of the enemy in the country but also the armed intervention of the imperialist world from without. The Bolshevik party successfully organized production and set into motion the wheels of industry that had been jammed by the imperialist and civil wars. The Bolshevik party initiated the formation of the Communist International, the mightiest weapon with which the international working class could be equipped to fulfill its mission in the period of preparing the world revolution.

A Party—Not a Sect

It is necessary to emphasize, particularly in the present day, that Lenin's conception of the revolutionary party was not that of a sect separated from the working class as a whole, living a life of its own outside the domain of the living struggle, pursuing special interests of its own. A mass movement for the sake of numbers was no fetich with him, for he was preeminently a fighter who could swim against the current of prevailing opinion. What was essential for him was a party basing itself on the interests of the whole working class so that the strength necessary for victory could be mobilized. He always proceeded from the standpoint of the requirements of the main task: the dictatorship of the proletariat, to which all others must contribute.

Just as the proletarian party was considered by Lenin to be the principal arm of the working class, so the theories of Marxism were considered the granite formation and strength of the party. Revolutionary theory was his most powerful weapon, and in the struggle against those who endeavored to revise Marxism Lenin produced many of the fundamental works of the movement today. He contributed more than any other man to the fact that "Russia attained Marxism, the only revolutionary theory, by dint of fifty years' travail and sacrifice, through the greatest revolutionary heroism, the most incredible energy and devotion, in seeking, educating practical experience, disappointment, checking and comparision with European experience."

His regard for theory and unshakable belief that it is only by proceeding from it that the practices of the movement could be correct deserve special emphasis in the struggle today, when an entirely different spirit prevails in the official Communist parties. It is a characteristic of the departure from the teachings of Lenin that has taken place in the movement since his death, that the "leader" of the Communist International and the Russian Party today is one whose ignorance of Marxist-Leninist theory yields only to his contempt for it. It is characteristic of the alienation of the official movement from Leninism that it has allowed to prevail such anti-revolutionary "theories" as socialism in one country, joint workers' and peasants' parties, the subordination of the proletariat to the bourgeoisie in the colonial revolution and the "socialist development" of the rich peasantry to mention only a few of the "contributions" made to Marxist thought by Stalin since Lenin died.

Just as pernicious as ignorance, from Lenin's point of view, is the contemptuous light-mindedness with which new-fangled "theories" are formulated one day only to be substituted by equally "novel" conceptions the next day, a system that has de-

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Mass Unemployment Continues

Unemployment is general throughout the United States, according to the December bulletin of the U. S. Employment Service, issued Jan. 20 by Director Jones. From Maine, where a "seasonal recession in production" was reported from all sections, to Washington State, where the "volume of employment" was reported as decreased as usual at this season, the employment agents have found excuses for the reduction of jobs, but they have admitted the fact that great numbers of men cannot find means of earning a livelihood.

Massachusetts reported that "curtailed schedules obtained in the shoe, textile, machinery, hosiery and celluloid industries in various sections of the state, with rather limited opportunities locally for the released workers in their individual communities." Building trades and unskilled labor were also hard hit.

New York noted that December showed decreased activity in manufactures, and that inventory taking and repairs to plants were under way in many of the larger establishments, throwing large numbers of workers out of employment. Holiday extra help in stores were let out at the end of the month, and the usual flow of unemployed unskilled labor from the country into the cities had begun.

New Jersey reported that some unemployment was "apparent in practically all cities". Pennsylvania found the same condition, with part-time operation in many of the iron and steel mills. Detroit, Pontiac and Flint, in the automotive production area of the Michigan, reported "surplus of labor apparent" and part-time operation of many factories. Some automobile plants were closed down. Ohio's general view was that practically all trades were suffering from lack of jobs. Automobile, steel and miscellaneous plants were operating on part-time schedules. Rubber factories had let out a considerable part of their force. Thousands of bituminous miners were idle.

Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and Minnesota were among the states whose industries slowed down in December. Chicago had a surplus of railroad maintenance-of-way and shop workers, building tradesmen, and common labor, much of which came in from smaller cities.

PATERSON, N. J.—(FP)—Sixteen hundred men laid off by the Wright Aeronautical Corp. of this city recently waited anxiously for the return of their jobs. They had been told that an inventory was the reason for theirlay off,, and were led to believe that they would soon be put back to work. Most of them have experienced bitter disappointment as the plant gradually reopened to find themselves still unemployed, while the plant filled their places with womenat $14 a week. The men had been getting about 50 cents an hour.

DURHAM, N. C.—(FP)—Distress is becoming acute among unemployed workers who have been pouring into Durham from other stricken cities and from the farmsides, seeking work.

Enormous Profits in Southern Tobacco

Enormous profits for the companies contrast with the bitterest exploitation of the workers—Negro and white—in the South's second biggest manufacturing industry—tobacoo, in which opportunities for labor organization and struggle are ripened by the sharpened class distinction. Annual financial reports of the big cigarette companies, just released, are very instructive.

Leading in profits is the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co. which has attached to Winston-Salem, N. C. the sobriquet of Camel City. Its profits for 1929 reached the amazing total of $32, 210,000 compared with $29, 080,000 in 1927. No question here of an over-expanded industry "profitless" for capitalists, as the textile barons claim.

Enormous Company Profits

The tremendous net earnings, built on the sale of Camels and Prince Albert, come from workers suffering under an even lower scale of wages than cotton mill operatives, and from tobacco growers, many of whom are reported famine-stricken in eastern North Carolina Unionism is tolerated even less in tobacco factories than in cotton mills. The Tobacco Workers Intl. Union reports the neglible membership of 3,200 based on a few small, but friendly firms in Kentucky manufacturing cigarettes for the union label trade.

R.J. Reynold's net earnings of $32,210, 000 for 1929 are computed after "deducting all charges and expenses of management, and after making provision for interest, taxes, depreciation, advertising, etc." From this sum $25,500,000 was paid to stockholders and $6,710,000 transferred to the undivided profits account, which now totals $51,579,000.

These tremendous earnings are based on the labor of 12,000 Winston-Salem workers, more than half of them negroes. Wages run from $7 to $11 a week, with a maximum of 48 cents an hour.

The Winston-Salem tobacco factories are strongly protected against union inroads. R. J. Reynolds answered the activities of E. L. Crouch, vice president of the Tobacco Workers Intl. Union, stationed in the Camel city, by wholesale discharges of unionists. Last year 800 were fired in one batch, many of them negroes. But back in 1920 the union was strong and covered the 14,000 workers then employed in an industry where speedup has since taken its toll in displaced workers. No one got less than 32 cents an hour and the maximum was 64 cents. The Machinists Union had separate contracts covering their men.

The industrial depression of 1921 afforded an excellent opportunity to drive out unionism, which was crushed under militant anti-union tactics and unemploymet.

Virtual Famine for Workers

The other side of the R. J Reynolds exploitation is seen in eastern North Carolina, where the Raleigh News and Observer reveals hunger prevalent and conditions closely approaching a real famine. This is in the tobacco country. At the mercy of the Big Five tobacco corporations, which set the price to be paid the grower at the start of each harvest season, the bright leaf growers, who supply the cigarette trade, find no open market in which to sell. This year with partial crop failure and a price of 24 cents a pound, they find themselves at the mercy of the big cigarette companies, the landlords and the bankers.

TORONTO MILITANTS, ATTENTION!

A class in the fundamentals of Marxism and Leninism, under the direction of Maurice Spector, is being organized by the Communist League (Opposition) branch in Toronto. If interested, get in immediate touch with M. Quarter by telephone: Trinity 5783J. All workers invited.

If the number on your wrapper is

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then your subscription to the **Militant** has expired. Renew immediately in order to avoid missing any issues.

A Step Down by the International Right

The Right wing, which still employs some Communist phraseology purely out of years of habit, has taken another step away from Communism and towards the social democracy. This time the action is laid in Czecho-Slovakia. The Right wing there has been divided into three camps: the Jilek-Bolen group of Right wingers with some Centrists leanings, the Right wing organization in Brunn, and the trade union opportunists (Hais et al) who are now in control of the Left wing unions. On December 15, the Action Committee of the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia (Opposition) — the Jilek-Bolen-Houser group recently removed from Party leadership and expelled—held a plenary meeting at which the question of unity in the Right wing camp was discussed.

The report was delivered by Houser, with a co-report by Bolen. The subject of the controversy was the political and organizational resolution worked out by the C. P. C. (Opposition) at a joint conference with the Brunn Opposition on November 25. The resolution was adopted at the Plenary session by a vote of 18 to 4, with Jilek, Bolen, Lipina and Kolzer voting in the negative. While adequate details are not yet at hand, the character of the resolution that forms the basis of the unification of the Czech Right wing groups may be judged from the following illuminating excerpt:

"The proletarian united front is not just a maneuver for the purpose of exposure, but it is a serious policy which has as its task the approachment (annaeherung) and collaboration of all class conscious socialist parties that are ready to fight against the bourgeoisie..."

A Break with Communism

Gegen den Strom, the central organ of the German Right wing (Brandler-Thalheimer) quite correctly remarks that this paragraph in incompatible with the Leninist tactic of the united front. It may be added that it breaks not only with some specific tactic of the Communists—which should or should not be applied, according to the conditions of the struggle—but with the fundamental principles of the Communist movement. We know of no socialist parties outside of the Communist Parties that is ready to fight against the bourgeoisie. We know only that all shades of the social democracy, Right as well as "Left", are the decoys of the bourgeoisie in the proletarian movement, that their role in the struggle is essentially one of diverting, confusing and strangling every genuine movement of struggle against capitalism.

To the socalled Left socialists falls the specific task of deceiving the workers into the belief that there are "bad socialists" who collaborate with the bourgeoisie, and "good socialists" who are against the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the working class but still "ready to fight against the bourgeoisie". Their names are A. A. Purcell, James Maxton, Paul Levi, Georg Ledebour, Otto Bauer and Company. Their ranks are wide open to receive the new recruits to national socialism of the "Left" variety—Hauser, Hais, Brandler, Hueber, Sellier and Lovestone. The above-mentioned Czech resolution is an indication that the Right wing of the Communist movement is more than ready to meet Bauer and Co. half way.

It is true that **Gegen den Strom** very formally records its disagreement with the resolution of its Czech colleagues. But it is purely a matter of record with Brandler. Let the archives bear testimony for the future historian that Brandler once recorded his opposition to the crude opportunism of his Czech comrades, and thereby cleared his "international" conscience. (It might be added, of course, that Brandler's policy in Germany, while a bit more refined, is neither better nor worse than Houser's in Czecho-Slovakia.)

But no sooner has Brandler so devoutly "fulfilled his international obligations", than he turns around in the very next issue of his paper (Vol. 3, No. 1), and gives a glowing and unrestrained account of the "Unification of the Three Communist Opposition groups in Czecho-Slovakia". And Lo and behold! there is not as much as a syllable whispered about the resolution so formally and unobtrusively critized a week before. It is not against this vulgar piece of Menshevism that Brandler now directs his shafts, but against the timid souls, Jilek and Bolen, who presumed to oppose the unification on the basis of the submitted resolution! Brandler suddenly discovers—after having lavished praise upon them for months—that Jilek and Bolen are "the two representatives of the Ruth Fischer-Maslow era in Czecho-Slovakia"—the worse thing Brandler can say about anyone.

That is the contemptible way in which the Right wing "criticize" each other's new strides away from Communism. "You must understand, dear Houser," says Brandler, "that I will have to say an embarrassed word or two in **Gegen den Strom.** But please do not feel hurt. We are really for a Hands Off policy, and in our next issue I will write a full page eulogizing you in such unmeasured and uncritical terms that nobody will remember the petty criticism I made the week before."

The Right Wing Doesn't "Intervene"

Thus proceeds the occupation of new social democratic territory by the Right wing in every country and the ever greater distance it puts between itself and its former Communist base. Every group knows there is no danger of any serious "intervention" by the other.

A similar case may be found in the United States. With a simplicity and ease that does no credit to his followers, Lovestone has succeeded in allying his group with the Brandler group in Germany. The completeness of this reversal may be judged from the fact that there has not been a national or international party congress or plenum since 1924 where Lovestone did not condemn Brandler and Co. from hell to breakfast as the outstanding representative of social democracy in the Communist movement. Lovestone prided himself on being the most prominent antagonist of Brandlerism, and made this antagonism one of his principal claims to leadership in the American party. Inside of six months, Lovestone erased five years of his record. The two Right wing groups have agreed to let each other traverse its own specific path of national reformism without molestation or "petty criticism".

But the outward forms of "internationalism" must be maintained. Even Otto Bauer will sometimes be found criticizing the more scandalous actions of his British or German colleagues in the Second International. Therefore the current issue of the **Revolutionary Age** contains a criticism of M. N. Roy that is positively touching in the delicacy of its reproach. In a recent article, Roy condemned not only the pet abomination of the Right wingers, the 10th Plenum of the E. C. C. I., but also the Sixth Congress: the latter was too "Left" for him. In a "critical" article of reply Herberg assures Roy that he is wrong. The Sixth Congress was not a "Left" Congress; its leaders were Bucharin, Lovestone, Jilek, Serra and Humbert-Droz, says Herberg. The only trouble is that its work is being revised now.

Roy's Nationalism

Alas, even the tender criticisms of Herberg are lost on Roy. The latter is a well-known Indian nationalist, who has travelled for the last 4 to 5 years from Moscow to Shanghai to Moscow to the Riviera to Berlin to Moscow and back to Berlin, where he is now the "international" specialist of the Brandlerites. All these years he has had to masquerade in a Communist costume. Now he has thrown it off. Even the Sixth Congress was "too radical" for him. With his expulsion from the Comintern, there is no longer even the faintest restraining leash upon him.

He will not lose any sleep over Herberg's criticism. He knows that it means nothing and can accomplish nothing. So long as he doesn't interfere with Lovestones effort to create a temporary berth between the socialist and Communist movements of this country, Lovestone will not expose the sleight-of-hand tricks by which Roy pulls nationalist policies and theories out of a Bolshevik hat.

DETROIT—(FP)—Workers in the Motors Products Co. in Detroit are making as low as $1.25 for a 10-hour day. This is done by returning work done on a piecework rate as "unfinished". Many workers have left their jobs as this system enters its fourth week.

TROTSKY

The writings of L. D. Trotsky are the richest and most fruitful contributions being made to the labor and revolutionary movements today. There is not a problem that great Bolshevik touches which is not immediately illuminated in all its aspect. And the problems he deals with concern the most vital interests of the whole movement.

The international labor and Communist movements are in a critical situation. Never has the need for clarity been so urgent as it is today. Never has the need for straight Marxist thinking been so pressing. Nobody is doing more in this field than Trotsky.

The situation in the Soviet Union, the fountain-head of the revolutionary movement today, which offers so many complexities to the average observer, is made clear and understandable by Trotsky's writings. In fact, the course of events in the Soviet Union and the Russian Communist Party can be evaluated properly only by a reading of the works of the Russian Opposition which Trotsky speaks for and leads.

In the United States, Trotsky's writing appear regularly in the **Militant.** Just as the first writings of Lenin in this country became a mighty instrument for the molding of the revolutionary movement years ago, the writings of Trotsky now are playing the same role in the movement at a different stage,

Among the articles by Trotsky that have appeared in the **Militant** recently are: Disarmament and the United States of Europe. Syndicalism and Communism. The Austrian Crisis and Communism. Who is Leading the Communist International? What is Happening in China? Twelve years of the Russian Revolution. The Defense of the Soviet Union and the Opposition. Etc. Etc. No active worker can afford to be without these contributions which appear only in the **Militant.**

In1930, the **Militant** plans to continue the publication of Trotsky's writing, which will include some of the most brilliant work he has yet done in the course of his years in the revolutionary movement. The best way to insure getting these copies of the **Militant** regularly, is to subscribe for a year. A yearly subscription is $2.00 or $1.00 for six months.

MILITANT

JUST RECEIVED!

NO. 7

THE BULLLETIN
of the Russian Opposition

The new issue contains articles by L. D. Trotsky on the Twelfth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution, Communism and Syndicalism, Syndicalism's Mistakes in Principle, the Austrian Crisis, China, etc., etc. Articles by Christian Rakovsky on Government Policy and the Party Regime, the Capitulators. Letters from Russian Oppositionists in Exile. An unpublished document of the Petersburg Party Committee on the eve of the uprising, concealed by Stalin. And many other important articles and documents.

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The Struggle for the South

Green s Pleas to the Bosses, the Progressives and the Communists

By James P. Cannon

The theses of the unlucky leaders of the Communist Party nowadays seem to be written in order that events may speedily refute them. Such is the fate of the Foster revelation of a year ago regarding the "decline of the A. F. of L." The formal opening of the A. F. of L. campaign in the South brushes this theory into the discard, while, incidentally, it confirms all that we said in the subject in our Platform (The **Militant,** 2-15-1929).

The conference at Charlotte, N. C., was staged on a scale designed to attract the maximum of attention, and the resources placed at the disposal of the United Textile Workers ought to remove all doubt that the reactionary McMahon organization henceforth will contest the field with the Comunists far more aggressively than was the case in the year just passed, which marked the entrance of the National Textile Workers Union into the South. The Federated Press dispatch of January 16, states that 15 organizers have been assigned to the work of organizing the Southern cotton mill workers into the U. T. W. and that 25 will be in the field in the near future. Along with this goes the announcement of imposing financial support to the campaign. Discounting much of this as typical promotion talk the entry of the A. F. of L. as a real contender in the Southern labor situation remains a clearly established fact which none but fools can deny.

The A. F. of L. Program

In all the preparations for their campaign in the South the reactionaries run true to form as "the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class", as DeLeon called them many years ago. Peaceful partnership with the bosses and war to the knife on the workers' vanguard—the sword and shield of labor reaction—is the undisguised program, as frankly proclaimed at the Charlotte conference. "No strikes are to be called," is the promise to the exploiters of labor by Thomas F. McMahon, president of the U. T. W., and "give us a trial" is the supplementary plea of William Green, in the name of the A. F. of L. Coupled with this supplication to the bosses to give them achance to "be of service" is the inevitable declaration of war on the Communists. "There will be a nevercoasing conflict between the American Federation of Labor and these destructive people," is the pledge made in Green's speech at the conference, reported in the New York **Times** (1-7-1930).

The whole strategy of the reactionaries is elucidated here: To make their appeal to the employers and offer them a safe altrenative to the Left wing unions.

In all this there is nothing new, much as it may surprise the ignoramuses who explain this—and all other—phenomena by the newly baked theory of "social-fascism". In offering itself as a strike-breaker and bulwark against radicalism, the United Textile Workers is repeating its own inglorious role of the past. During the Lawrence strike of 1912 it made a contract with the mill owners and attempted to stampede the strikers back to work on the bosses' terms—a maneuver exposed and defeated by the militant I. W. W. It did the same thing in the Paterson strike of 1914, coming in at the height of the strike and openly conspiring with the bosses and police to break it. Such instances in the American labor movement are innumerable. They can be found in every field where labor militants have come to the front as the organizers of the workers. Even today's strike of the Amalgamated Food Workers in New York against restaurants "signed up" with the A. F. of L. union is an old story. The writer recalls an identical situation in Minneapolis in 1914 when I. W. W. restaurant workers on strike were confronted one morning with a card in the window proclaiming the establishment to be a "union house". The theory of "social fascism" is not necessary to explain the A. F. of L. campaign of treachery in the South to anyone who knows the A. B. C. of American labor history and the role of the "labor lieutenants" of the bosses. This hare-brained theory serves no purpose except to muddle and confuse the workers and thus, in its objective consequences, to weaken them in their fight.

What part are the "progressives" of the C. P. L. A. playing in this conflict in the South? They are playing a characteristic one which gives the honest progressive worker a good opportunity to compare their words with their deeds and to judge them accordingly. In a New Year's manifesto, A. J. Muste, the head of the C. P. L. A., called for "militancy, determination and idealism" in the labor movement and predicted : "The year 1930 will be a year of strikes and of renewed aggressiveness on the part of the American workers." These are the words, and they are fair ones. What of the deeds? Several C. P. L. A. leaders are assigned as organizers in the A. F. of L. campaign with its pledge of "no strikes" and its war to the knife on the Left wing exponents of "militancy, determination and idealism" in the labor movement.

The C. P. L. A. people are playing the role of come-ons for the labor fakers. They were present at the Charlotte conference but the reports contain no reference to any protest on their part against the reactionary program. One of the committee of three appointed by Green to direct the campaign is Paul Smith, who is not unknown to the "progressives" of the West. His sole occupation as the A. F. of L. "organizer" for several years has been to break up Central Labor bodies tainted with signs of "militancy, determination and idealism". The Central Labor Councils of Detroit, Seattle, Minneapolis, Great Falls and other cities which supported some of the planks in the C. P. L. A. program know him for this work and for no other. The Federated Press release for January 8 says "Smith...is regraded as a policy man within the A. F. of L." You bet he is. His policy is reaction, and it will govern the campaign as everybody knows. The "progressives" will work under him and according to hispolicy.

The Bosses' Program and the A. F. of L. Program

The A. F. of L. chiefs want to serve the interests of the employers but they are not the same as the employers and their programs at the moment are not identical. If one is to understand the labor situation in the South it is necessary to see this important differentiation, much as it conflicts with the dogma of "social fascism". The Southern bosses are not yet ready to accept the A. F. of L. as an alternative to Left wing unionism. They are determined to fight it also as they did at Marion. They want no union at all. The mill owners' press greeted the Charlotte conference with full page advertisements against all labor organizations, citing the case of "ruined Massachusetts" where unionism is alleged to exist. From this conflict of programs great struggles may arise despite the wishes of the A. F. of L. leaders and their program of "no strikes". Even if the reactionaries succeed in temporarily defeating the Left wing union the issue will be by no means settled. It is quite possible that the struggle between the Right and Left for the leadership of the workers will take other forms than those indicated at the moment The clearer this is seen the better will be the safeguards against pessimism and panic in the event of a temporary defeat of the Left union.

Under the present conditions, the center of gravity lies in the head-on fight between the rival unions—the reactionary U. T. W. and the Left wing N. T. W.—for the support of the workers. The support of the N. T. W. is the first duty of the class conscious workers. This applies not only to the Southern textile workers but to the proletarian vanguard throughout the country; the textile workers cannot be organized against the bosses and the A. F. of L. without the help of the entire American movement of militant labor. Of what should this support consist? Well, first of all it should be to try to understand the whole situation and then to tell the truth about it. This is the way a Communist approaches every problem of the class struggle. The robot like support of everything said and done in the name of the Left wing union regardless of its wisdom or its folly; the craven asquiescence in false policy which throw the new union off the track; the treacherous silence of accomplices in factional disruption which plays the game of the mill owners and the labor fakers—all this is the business of soulless functionaries who have lost sight of the interests of the workers. Communist revolutionaries will scornfully reject these criteria of "support" which are designed only to shield the Foster wrecking crew from accountability to the workers.

Mistakes of the Party Leaders

The Party leaders, by false policies and by factional jugglery of the most criminal kind, have laid heavy handicaps on the National Textile Workers Union, and are sending it into the great contest weakened and ill-prepared. They threw away the great opportunity to dramatize the Southern struggle around the Gastonia case and to mobliize all the best forces of the working class for the support of the N. T. W. By abandoning the historic struggle of American labor against the frame-up system they lost the chance to line up the Northern workers and they cleared the way for multiplied persecution in the future—one of the greatest obstacles to the organization of the Southern textile workers.

Their failure to employ united front tactics of approach to the Marion strikers and to link this situation up in a national agitation with the Gastonia fight was likewise a costly blunder. The striking workers of Marion who were shot down on the picket line belong to us; it is thanks only to the multiplied bungling of the party bureaucrats that McMahon and Co. are enabled to wave the tradition of Marion as a banner for their reactionary campaign.

On the organization side the Foster leadership has no less to account for. Considering the great historical importance of the struggle in the South and the immensity of the task the organizing force and the financial support assigned to it were ridiculously inadequate; and the constant juggling and shifting of forces, dictated, as a rule, by party factional exigencies, greatly hampered the campaign. These mistakes of the past might be passed by if there were signs of change and improvement; but this, unfortunately, is not the case. The latest exploits of the Party bosses in the N. T. W. are blows against its future.

The Removal of Weisbord

The principal achievement of the recent convention of the N. T. W. was the elimination of the three former officials—Weisbord, Keller and Dawson, who, it is reported, are tainted more or less with L o v e s t o n i s m—of carrying over one might say, the official Comintern line of 1928 into the year 1929. So far as the Lovestone clique of leaders is concerned, we have recorded our opinions fully and adequately many times, and not since yesterday. We need not repeat these opinions here except to remark that everything to be found in the Party campaign against them which has political complexion and substance is borrowed almost literally from material written by us long ago when the present leaders of the Party were united with them like a band of brothers in the war against "Trotskyism", i. e. against the fundamental teachings of Marx and Lenin. The task of educating the Communist vanguard in the ideological struggle against the petty-bourgeois theories and practises of Lovestone, Wolfe and Co. is one we have not shirked in the past and will not shirk in the future.

But this educational work will be hindered and not advanced by the arbitrary removal of their adherents from the Left wing unions. Such a course will have far-reaching consequences, leading to the disruption of the unions—or their transformation into impotent sects, which amounts to the same thing, and we declare emphatically against it.

The "victories" of the Party caucus do not pass unnoticed either by the workers or their enemies. The masses of the textile workers who saw in Weisbord the organizer of the great Passaic strike, the symbol of their aspiration for militant organization will not be enthused by his removal for purely party reasons.

Labor leaders, able to arouse and organize the masses, are not manufactured so easily in a Party caucus or a caucus bound convention. To his faults, many and serious, we have never been blind; we had occasion to speak of them more than once when he was being artificially, and quite disgustingly, promoted and advertised like Barnum's white elephant. The elements of the careerist intellectual in him, which determined his affinity for the Lovestone faction, were as plain as a pike-staff and these odious traits were stimulated by his factional exploitation during the Lovestone regime in the Party.

But in throwing Weisbord aside without any serious or valid reasons, the Party manipulators are discarding a valuable and necessary force in the struggle to organize the textile workers against the mill owners and the A. F. of L. reactionaries.

But the harmful effects of these latest removals go deeper than the question of the individuals involved. It is another advertisement to the world that the Foster bureaucrats demand a hand-picked administration of yes-men in the unions under their control and that no dissenting opinions will be tolerated. A persistence in this course over a long enough period will seal the doom of the Left wing unions as mass organizations and give the game to the exploiters and their labor agents. This course is today a cancer eating the vitals of the N. T. W. The struggle for a correct line of policy and a drastic reformation of adminstrative methods is a pressing duty of Communist workers, in the North as well as in the South, who want to give real support to the National Textile Workers Union.

Prospect Bad for Builders

By T. P. LEWIS

CHCAGO—(FP)—Now that the data is available, building trades workers can size up the prospects for work and organization in the industry for the coming year. The first, work, depends on both the volume of building to be done and the technical advances in construction. The outlook is bad. With regard to organization and union demands, the ensuing year will in all probability see many struggles between associations of employers intent on doing away with what they term "prosperity" working conditions and building unions loath to give up the advantages won during the past eight booming years.

Peak Reached in 1928

The outstanding characteristic of the industry from the point of view of the worker in overalls is and probably will continue to be througout the year, a dearth of jobs. The present slackness in employment is much more than the usual winter layoff. The all-time peak of building production was reached in May, 1928. From that peak to the following February, 1929, the drop in building activity was 44%. In Oct. 1'29, when the stock market crash occured contracts awarded had already been declining for 17 months.

December 1929 was the lowest December recorded in the records of a statistical organization operating in the 37 Eastern states for all time. Almost the entire drop is in the residential section. In fact, non-residential construction as a whole showed an increase of 4% in 1929 over 1928. It was mainly the booming condition of residential building which includes apartments that gave jobs to so many workers.

The advancing technique of construction has wiped out many jobs. High building costs in 1929 were an incentive to speed-up, both directly as noticed and complained about by many union workers, and in new methods. Here are a few examples of expedited construction: In Mississippi a 22-story reinforced concrete structure was placed in seven weeks. The merchandise mart in Chicago, the world's largest building, was the scene of the most comprehensive assemblage of building equipment ever brought together. Cement was distributed pneumatically and concrete was placed by conveyors. New developments in scaffold erection and high-speed hoists have materially cut down on time.

Burden Workers with Losses

Grumbling about high wages is already heard in boss circles. In spite of professional optimists paid by trade journals or hired by the bosses' organizations to spread good cheer, the employer knows 1930 will be a lean year in the building industry. He saw his profits cut in 1929 and is preparing to pass some of his losses on to the workers, forgetting the fabulous profits that in the main have made seven fat years for him.

NEW YORK—(FP)—Exploitation of child workers as young as 10 in scallop sheds along the southern shore of Long Island is under attack. The children await the arrival of the scallop fisherman late in the afternoon and work on the docks of in badly ventilated board shacks until late in the evening shelling and packing the scallops. Paid by the gallon, they rarely earn as much as $2 a day.

The «Third Period» of the Comintern's Mistakes

What is Radicalization of the Masses?

By L. D. Trotsky

The radicalization of the masses for the Comintern has become, at present, a bare catechism and not the characterization of a process. Genuine Communists—teaches **l'Humanite***—should recognize the leading role of the party and the radicalization of the masses. It is meaningless to put the question that way. The leading role of the party is an unshaken principle for every Communist. Who does not follow it can be an anarchist or a confusionist, but not a Communist, that is, a proletarian revolutionist. But radicalization itself is not a principle, but only a characterization of a state of the masses. Is this characterization correct or is it not correct for the given period? That is a question of fact. In order to estimate seriously the state of the masses, correct criteria are necessary What is radicalization? How does it express itself? What are its characteristics? With what tempo and in which direction does it develop? The deporable leadership of the French Communist party does not even pose these questions. At most an official article or a speech will refer to the growth of strikes. But even there only bare figures are given, without serious analysis, without even a simple comparision with the ones of the preceding years.

Such an attitude to the question follows not only from the unfortunate decisions of the Tenth Plenum of the E. C. C. I. but, is a matter of fact from the very program of the Comintern. It speaks of the radicalization of the masses as a continuous process. It believes: today the mass is more revolutionary than it was yesterday, and tomorrow it will be more revolutionary than it is today. Such a mechanical idea does does not correspond with the real process of development of the proletariat and of capitalist society as a whole. But does correspond, as perfectly as possible, with the mentality of the Cachins, Monousseaus and the other frightened opportunists.

The social democratic parties, especially before the war, had imagined the future as a continual growth of social democratic votes, which will grow till it comes to the very moment of the complete possession of power. For a vulgar or pretended revolutionary this perspective still remains, essentially, its force, only instead of continuous growth of votes, he talks of the continual **radicalization of the masses.** This mechanical conception is sanctioned also by the Bucharin-Stalin program of the Comintern. It goes without saying that from the point of view **of our epoch as a whole** the development of the proletariat goes in the direction of the revolution. But this is not at all a straight process, just as the objective process of the sharpening of capitalist antagonism is not straight. The reformists see only the ups of the capitalist road. The formal "revolutionists" see only its downs. But a Marxist sees the line as a whole, with all its conjunctural rises and declines, without for a moment losing sight of is main direction—to the catastrophies of wars, to the outburst of revolutions.

The political feelings of the proletariat are far from changing automatically in one and the same direction. The rising of the class struggle are followed by its fallings, the flood-tides by the ebbs, depending upon complicated combinations of material and ideological conditions, internal and international. The activity of the masses, if not utilized at the right moment, or used wrong, goes to its opposite and ends in a period of decline, from which the masses recover faster or slower, again due to the influence of new objective stimuli. The characteristic of our epoch is the especially sharp changes of different periods, the extraordinary abrupt turns in the situation and this puts upon the leadership unusual obligations in the matter of correct orientation.

The activity of the masses, even when it is quite correctly ascertained, may have different expressions depending upon different conditions. The mass may, at certain periods, be completely absorbed in an economic struggle, and show very littel interest in political questions. On the other hand, suffering from a series of failures on the field of the economic struggle, the mass may abruptly transfer its attention to the realm of politics. But here too—depending upon a series of conditions and on the experience with which a mass entered these conditions—its political activity may go either by the purely parliamentary way or by way of extra-parliamentary struggle.

We take only a very few examples, which characterize the contradictions of the revolutionary development of the proletariat. Those who know how to follow facts and understand their meaning, will admit without difficulty that the variations traced above are not some kind of theoretical combination but an expression of the living international exeperience of the last decade.

In any case, it is clear from what has been said that when the radicalization of the masses is being discussed, a concrete definititon of it should be demanded. The Marxist Opposition should, of course, put the same demand to itself. A bare denial of radicalization brings just as little as its complete affirmation. We should have an estimate of that which is and of that which is becoming.

The Strike Curve in France

The official leaders speak of the radicalization of the French working class almost exclusively in connection with the strike movement. The growth of the latter is an incontestable fact, systematically established.. We will take this fact as a starting point.

The official statistic of strikes in France are always extraordinarily late. The last report of the Ministry of Labor on strikes ends with the year 1925. For 1926 I have not data at my disposal. For the next three years there is the data of the Communist press. There is absolutely no doubt that the figures taken from the two sources mentioned are incommensurable. It is doubtful if the Ministry of Labor registers all strikes with the necessary completeness. On the other hand, the superficial "revolutionists" of **l'Humanite** have an obvious tendency to give exaggerated data. But in spite of that the general tendency of the movement comes out clearly enough.

The strike movement in France reached its highest point in the first two years after the war. In 1919, 2,100 strikes took place in which 1,200,000 workers participated. In 1920, there were 1,900 strikes, in which almost 1,500,000 workers were involved. As to the number of strikers, this is the year of its high point. With the year 1921 there begins—with one small exception which will be mentioned later—a systematic decline, which reaches its lowest point in the years 1926-27. Here are the figures in round numbers: 1921: 450,000 strikers, that is, one-third of the number in the preceding year. In 1922: 300,000 strikers. Only in 1923 does the curve not decline but even rises slightly and shows 365,000 strikers. This episodic rise was undoutedly due to the events connected with the occupation of the Ruhr and the revolutionary movement in Germany. In 1924, the number of strikers goes down to 275,000. For 1926, as already said, we have no data. For 1927 we have only the total number of strikes: there were only 230 of them, while in the years 1919-1925 the number of strikes varied between 570 and 2,100. Although the number of strikes is a rather crude index, still it does not leave room for doubt that the curve of strikes continued, in general, to fall, beginning from 1921 and including 1927. In the last quarter of 1927, there were 93 strikes with 70,000 strikers. Supposing that the number of strikes was the same on the average during the whole year, (an obviously arbitrary supposition), we will have approximately 170,000 for 1927, a number which is exaggerated rather than understated.

In 1928, the Communist press counts about 800 strikes, about 600 of which belong to the second half of the year, with 363,000 participants. Consequently it is possible to adopt, for the whole year of 1928, a hypothesis of 400,000 to 450,000 men. The same press shows 1.200 strikes for 1929 with approximately the same number of participants as in 1928 (that is, 400,000 to 450,000). Thus, in comparision with the preceding year there is no rise. The number of strikers in 1928, as also in 1929, is about twice as big as in 1925. It is nearly the same as the number of strikers in 1921. It is three to three and a half times less than in 1920.

All these figures, as has already been noted above, do not pretend to be absolutely exact, but they are enough to define the **dynamics** of the process. After the high point of strikes in 1919-20, the diminishing progression takes place until 1928, with a very small break in 1923. In the years of 1928-29 we observe an unmistakable, and, what is more, a considerable increase of the strike movement, connected it is not hard to understand—it will be shown further on—with the rise in industry under the influence of the stabilization of the currency.

We can say with perfect confidence that the period of 1919-27 forms a certain independent cycle in the life of the French proletariat, including the cyclonic rise of the strike movement immediately after the war, as well as its defeats and its decline especially acute after the catastrophe in Germany in 1923. In the most general of its aspects this cycle is characteristic not only of France alone, but of the whole of Europe, and in considerable degree, the whole world. What is characteristic of France as such is the comparatively moderate extent of fluctuation between the highest and lowest points of the cycle: victorious France did not go through a genuine revolutionary crisis. In the rythm of the French strike movement the gigantic events developing in Russia, Germany, England, and other countries found only a weakened reflection.

The same tendencies of the strike movement of the French workers are indicated by other data. The number of strikers and the number of days of each strike, fell sharply beginning with the year 1922. In 1921 each strike had an average of 800 strikers and lasted more than 14,000 days. In 1925 each strike already had less than 300 strikers and a little more than 2,000 days. We can assume that in 1926-27, these averages did not in any case, grow bigger. In 1929, we already have 400 men per strike.

We shall note another important index, which we shall need later. In the post war years, the first place among the strikers belonging mainly to the miners the last two years, the first place is occupied by the textile workers and, in general, by the socalled light industry.

What do the Data of the Statistics Show?

Do they confirm the thesis of the radicalization of the masses or do they refute it? First of all, we answer, it takes it out of the realm of abstractions in which Monmousseau says Yes and Chambelland says No, without giving any definition of what is meant by radicalization. The data of the strike struggle given above are indisputable proof of certain moves in the working class. At the same time, they give a very important estimate of the number and quality of these moves. They outline the general dynamics of the process and make it possible, to a certain degree to anticipate the tomorrow, or more exactly, the possible variations of the tomorrow.

In the first place, we can affirm that the data for 1928-29, compared with the preceding period, characterize the beginning of a **new cycle** in the life of the French proletariat. They give us the right to assume that deep molecular processes have taken and are taking place in the masses, as a result of which the inert force of the decline begins—if only on the economic front for the present—to be overcome.

Nevertheless, the same data show that the growth of the strike movement is still very modest, and does not in the least give a picture of a tempetuous overflow, which would allow us to draw conclusions about a revolutionary or at least a pre-revolutionary period. In particular, there is no marked difference between 1928 and 1929. In the front rank of the strike movement, there still stand, as was mentioned above, only the establishments of light industry. From this fact, Chambelland comes to a general conclusion **against** radicalization. It would be a different matter, he says, if strikes were taking hold of the large enterprises in heavy industry and the machine shops. In other words, he imagines that radicalization falls from the sky ready made. As a matter of fact these figures testify not only that the new cycle of proletarian struggle has begun, but also that this cycle is now only passing through its first stage. After defeat and decline, a revival, in the absence of any great events, could only start in no other way than from the industrial periphery, that is, from the light industries, from the secondary branches, from the smaller establishments of heavy industry. The transfer of the strike movement into the metal industry, machine shops, and transportation, would mean its transition to a higher stage of development, and would signify not only the symptoms of the beginnig of a movement but the fact of a decisive break in the mood of the working class. It has not come yet. But it would be absurd to shut our eyes to the first stage of the movement only because the second has not begun yet or the third, or the fourth. Pregnancy even in its second month is pregnancy. To force it may lead to a miscarriage. But it is possible to arrive at the same result by ignoring it. It may be well, though, to add to this analogy that in the social realm dates are by no means as stable as in the realm of physiology.

Facts and Phrases

In discussing the question of the radicalization of the masses, it should not for a moment be forgotten that the proletariat attains it "monolithism" only in periods of the highest revolutionary flood tide. In the conditions of "every day life" in capitalist society, the proletariat is far from being homogeneous. Moreover, the heterogeneity of its layers manifests itself most acutely precisely at the turning points in the road. The most exploited, the least skilled, or the politically most backward layers of the proletariat are frequently the first to enter the arena of struggle, and, in case of failure, are often the first to desert it. It is exactly in the new period that those groups which did not suffer defeats in the preceding period are easily attracted to the movement, if only because they did not generally take part in big fights. In one way or another, these phenomena are bound to appear also in France.

The same fact is shown by the indecision of the organized French workers which is pointed out by the official Communist press. Yes, the organized workers have their inhibitions too well developed. Considering themselves an insignificant part of the proletariat the organized are often apt to play a conservative role. It is not, of course, an argument against organization, but an argument against its weaknesses, and an argument against those trade union leaders of the type of Monmousseau, who do not understand the nature of trade union organization and are not able to guarantee it a proper place in the working class. But, in any case, for the given moment the vanguard role of the unorganized testifies that the question is not as yet about a revolutionary, but about a joint-economic struggle, and that, moreover, in its elementary stage.

The same thing is demonstrated by the important role of the foreign born workers in the strike struggle, who—by the way—will in the future play in France a part analogous to that of the Negroes in the United States. But that is in the future. At present, the part played in strikes by the foreigners who often do not know the language, is another proof of the fact that it is not a question of political but economic struggle, to which an impetus has been given by the change in the economic conjuncture.

Even in relation to the purely economic front, one cannot speak of the **offensive** character of the struggle, as Monmousseau and company do. They base this definition on the fact that a considerable percentage of the strikes are conducted **in the name of increased** wages. The thoughtful leaders forget that such a form of demands is forced upon the workers on the one hand by the rise of prices

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*The official central organ of the French Communist Party. What comrade Trotsky writes about it applies with little if any change to the official press of the Stalinists in other countries, the **Daily**

Throughout the World of Labor

The New Udrzal Government in Czecho-Slovakia

After six weeks of laborious combinations, the new government has now been formed. The government chief, Udrzal, is an Agrarian, his party (the strongest) has four ministers in the new cabinet. The other ministries are divided among the following parties:: Czech Social Democrats, 3; Czech National-Socialists, 3; 1 ministry each to the following parties: Czech National Democracy, German Agrarians, Czech Industrial, Czech Clericals, German Social Democrats. The ministry of finance is allotted to a "non-Partisan".

Thus, eight parties participated in the new government. They unite more than 5 million votes; the parties outside of the government (Czech and German Fascists, German Nationalists, Hlinka, German and Hungarian Christian Socialists, Communists) have about 2,300,000 votes.

The new international-bourgeois- socialist coalition therefore has a strong majority. It also calls itself the Concentration Cabinet. The former national-bourgeois-socialist coalition showed themselves to be too narrow. The birth of the new government was a hard one. The old basis of democracy no longer suffices and the social democracy, in the role of a liberal party has to save bourgeois democracy. This is a sign of weakness in the politics of the bourgeoisie. It is compelled to confide to the social democracy the safeguarding of its profit interests. The social democracy assumes the task of appeasing the masses aroused by the crises. Without the reformists it would hardly be possible to form a parliamentary government. At the same time, however, it shows the strength of the bourgeoisie and the weakness of the proletarian party (the Communist) when the bourgeois parties could permit themselves to carry on coalition skirmishes for six weeks without the combinatory idyl being destroyed by the proletariat.

What is the background of the new government formation and where are its perspectives?

The Czecho-Slovak bourgeoisie has an industrial crisis to overcome. Politically, this was expressed among other things, by its loss of the confidence of substantial masses and that it now required the reformists in order to establish the political equilibrium. But it utilizes the reformists without qualms for it has nothing to fear from them. On the contrary, they will assist it in surmounting the industrial crisis.

Φ

The economic situation is far from cheerful. The expansion of American capital in Europe, the concentration and rationalization measures in North America (for the overcoming of the crisis there) evokes crises in Europe. Germany and the other European states, supplanted by American capital, are sharpening the competition in Europe. Characteristic is the passive balance of trade of Czecho-Slovakia with Germany in September, the smallest total of foreign trade as a whole in comparision with the previous year. The largest figures of Czecho-Slovakia are shown by its foreign trade with Germany, Austria, Poland, England, Hungary, Rumania and Jugo-Slavia. In most of these countries the expansion of the Czech republic seems to be checked. In comparision with the previous year, the export of textiles fell 6 percent, leather goods, 4 percent, fruits and vegetables 27 percent. Other manifestations of a crisis are also plainly observable. There is a weakening of demand for money and a decline in industrial activity to record. The curve of industrial stocks is on the downgrade. The wholesale trade indices are included in the decline. Besides the sinking of the living standard index, a falling consuming power of the agricultural population is to be noted. In the metal industry, there are numerous discharges of workers; in building, there is a strong decline, although there was very favorable weather for it in the Autumn. There is a weakening of production in the chemical, wood, and leather industries. A falling off in orders in the glass industry from the U. S. A. is to be recorded.

The principal consequences are: increase in unemployment, insolvencies, revenue friction.

It is clear that there is no final solution for these problems of the Czech republic on a national scale. The manifestations of a crisis can temporarily be ameliorated at the expense of the working class and the petty bourgeois sections, but the development of the productive forces of the republic, just like in the other countries, is hopelessly checked by the many national boundaries of Europe. The figures for exports to Germany, England, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Jugo-Slavia give a clear picture of that. The bourgeoisie makes convulsive efforts to insure its profits: Trustification of the textile industry, rationalization, tax pressure on the urban and rural masses, all this is to make possible competition on the European markets. But it is precisely the profit economy that narrows the market possibilities internally and externally, crises arise which counterpose the hungry unemployed and the pinched masses to finance capital.

National boundaries are an expression of the interests of the profit economy of the financial groups of the country concerned, and the abolition of the limits and boundaries is equivalent to the suppression of the capitalists, that is, the proletarian revolution.

Only the United Soviet States of Europe can eliminate the chaos and misery in Europe.

The bourgeoisie exerts its political domination over the decisive proletarian class in the Czech republic, which can carry out this revolution, through the reformists. The domination of the bourgeoisie in modern Europe is possible only through the isolation of the Communists from the oppressed sections and from the proletariat. If a genuine Left turn in the leadership of the Communist Parties does not take place within a short time and a Marxist direction established in the whole Comintern, then Europe is condemned to a further vegetation. The counter-revolution will continue its march in Europe and raise its head in Soviet Russia.

The student riots in the Prague universities, which took place under the leadership of the fascisti, show the perspective. The reformists, who have four ministers in the government, will have to take a position on questions like unemployment, reparations (which signify a new tax burden on the people), crisis in agriculture, tenant protection, etc. They will of course not solve them in the interests of the working population.

It was only in the second session of parliament on December 13 that the new government came to a reading of its programmatic declaration. The fact that this was introduced only at the second session, and its general lack of concreteness, shows how difficult it is for the government to speak of its future, practical measures for surmounting the crisis.

Φ

Yet, a capitalist government shows its face even in its general declarations.

The government promises to evercome the industrial worries by a collaboration of the parties in the interest of the state. That is, of the capitalist state, whose interests are antagonistic to those of the toiling population. The government promises to defend the national economic interests of the capitalist state as a whole and its position on the international front, which means in other words, to sharpen capitalist rationalization in order to appear capable of competition on the markets and to conduct the eventual war conflicts that arise out of the nature of these affairs with sword in hand. In this connection, the declaration assures that the government will devote thorough attention to the security of the defense of the state. In the question of reparations, the government promises to yield **as much as possible.**

This then is the program of this new government of finance capital. It is noteworthy that the chairman of the house of deputies has been entrusted to the Agrarians, that of the senate to the social democrats. In the first and second sessions, the newly-elected Communist deputies carried through a technical obstruction. The government proceeded to its first "action": All the Communist deputies present were excluded for 10 sessions and a month's wages withdrawn from each of them. It is too bad that the party leadership of the C. P. C-S. takes no steps to expose the meaning of the democratic acts of violence of the new government in mass meetings. This fact may be traced to the isolation and theoretical untenability of the present Centrist leadership.

The Communist Party has the task of drawing the dissatisfaction of the masses into a revolutionary path through a correct mass policy. But the leadership of the C. P. C-S. has no clear perspective.

In its central organ, **Rude Pravo** (12-13-1929) an appeal to all the trade union, political, sport and cultural organizations of the proletariat, to the whole conscious working class of the republic, is issued in which we read the following:

"The five-year industrial plan is an achievement that humanity has never before seen. Through this plan, the Russian proletariat wants to reach and surpass the highest industrially developed states of the world (?) abolish the last remnants (?) of capitalism, and erect (?) the socialist society."

Thus, through the five year plan the Russian proletariat is to surpass the most highly developed capitalist world. This five year plan is to abolish the **last** remnants of capitalism and **erect** the socialist society.

What hinders this idyllic construction of socialism? Perhaps the economic isolation, the international division of labor which requires the extension of the proletarian revolution in Europe, the **United Soviet States of Europe?** Not a trace! The appeal says:

"But the capitalists outside and inside Soviet Russia are striving with all means to make impossible the carrying out of this plan. They provoke the Russian proletariat and its government and want to pull them into war conflicts.'"

Φ

The idea consequently prevails in the appeal that if the bourgeoisie does not force a war, the five year plan will build up socialism in Russia, that is, in one country.

Is this perhaps ignorance or shameful stupidity? No, it more than that, it is reformism, it is the theory of socialism in one country.

This appeal was signed by 16 organizations under Communist influence and the Party Central Committee itself.

It is difficult to expect a Marxist position from such a leadership in all questions of the mass struggle (courageous leadership, preparation for surprising turns, correct trade union, peasant, national policy, questions of democracy, fascism, etc.)

The petty bourgeoisie, (middle peasants, officials) is showing a proletarianization in the Czech, German, and especially in the Slovakian sections. The proletarian and semi-proletarian class is growing. The enslavement of the exploited takes place through all the parties. The dissatisfied masses swing between democracy and fascism, which contain all the species of clericalism (Catholicism, reformed church, anti-semitism), Nationalism (Masarykism), humanism, pacifism, reformism, defense of the fatherland, irredentism, etc.

Communism is confronted with the task of finally finding a way out. Otherwise, Europe remains the home of convulsive crises, barbaric misery and war.

—H. LENOROVICS

Prague, December, 1929.

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in food products, and on the other by the intensified physical exploitation of the worker ,as a result of new industrial methods (rationalization). A workman is compelled to demand an **increase** in his nominal wages in order to **defend** his standard of living of yesterday. These strikes can have an "offensive" character only from the standpoint of capitalist bookkeeping. From the standpoint of trade union policies they have a purely defensive character. It is precisely this side of the question that every serious trade unionist should have clearly understood and brought to the forefront by every means. But Monmousseau and company believe they have a right to be good-for-nothing trade unionists because they are, if you please, "revolutionary leaders". Shouting till they are hoarse about the offensive, political and revolutionary character of purely defensive strikes, they do not of course, change the nature of these strikes and do not increase their signficance by a single inch. But on the other hand, they do their best to arm the bosses and the government against the workers.

It does not improve matters when our "leaders" point out that the strikes become "political" on account of . . . the active role of the police. An astounding argument! The beating up of strikers by policemen is designated . . . a revolutionary advance of the workers. The history of France knows quite a few massacres of workers in purely economic strikes. In the United States, a bloody settlement with strikers is the rule. Does this mean that the workers in the United States are leading the most revolutionary struggle? The shooting of strikers has in itself, of course, a political significance. But only a loudmouth could identify it with the revolutionary political advance of the working masses—thus unconsciously playing the hand of the bosses and their police.

When the British General Council of Trade Unions represented the revolutionary strike of 1926 as a peaceful demonstration, it knew what it was doing: that was a deliberately planned betrayal. But when Monmousseau and company represent scattered economic strikes as a revolutionary attack on the bourgeois state, nobody will think of accusing them of a deliberate betrayal: it is doubtful of these people can act with deliberation. But it is certainly no help to the workers.

In the next article we will see how these terribly revolutionary heroes render some other services to the bosses, ignoring the rise of commerce and industry, underestimating its significance, that is, underestimating the profits of the capitalists—and by the same token undermining the foundation of the economic struggles of the workers.

All this is done, of course, to the glory of the "third period".

Prinkipo, December 18, 1929.

Fascism Still Alive in United States

NEW YORK — (FP) — That Mussolini was only kidding the U. S. when his black shirt ruffians recently announced the dissolution of their Fascist League of America is now definitely proved by activities and utterances from official Fascist sources in this city.

"American Fascism is more alive than ever," screeches **Il Grido della Stirpe,** (The Yell of the Race) Italian language newspaper published in New York as the official organ of Fascism in America. It tacks this statement onto the same headline in which it announcest hat the Fascist League is no more.

Dissolution of the official black shirt band only means that in the future "..Fascism will be stronger, better armed, more effective, , and if necessary more violent in all parts of America," **Il Grido** goes on to explain. Finally, it says, Fascism in America "will be ready to defend itselff and attack others with words, the press, and fists".

Anti-Fascist leaders point to the ceaseless activity if scores of Italian consulates throughout the country as centers for spying, intimidation, and Fascist propaganda. Italian consuls, among other things are taking a systematic census of Italian Americans, especially wage workers. Pressure is brought to bare on these people—American citizens as well as Italian subjects—to reveal their trade, their place of employment, the number of persons in their families and oth er information.

Finally, there is the Italian Historical Society, a cover organization for the same bunch of terrorists which ran the deceased FascistLeague. Its secretary is Harold Lord Varney, renegade I. W. W. who sold out to the bossesand renounced the labor and all its works 15 years ago. Since then he has been busy shocking timid gatherings time stories about the horrible **reds—at** so much per shock.

The Defense of the Soviet Union and the Opposition

By L. D. Trotsky

Continued from Last Issue

But to this day I have been unable to find in the papers of the Leninbund any echo of the discussion in the organization. The editors of **Die Fahne des Kommunismus** made a one-sided selection of ultra-Leftist articles from foreign Opposition papers, making the ridiculous article of the "Korschist" sympathizer the basis for the discussion. The editors themselves stood on the side, waiting to find what would come out of it all. In spite of the exceptional acuteness with which the problem was posed, Urbahns lost week after week, limiting himself to reprinting foreign articles directed against the Marxist point of view. Only after my article, that is, six weeks after the beginning of the conflict in the Far East, did the editors of **Die Fahne** judge the moment opportune to express themselves. But even then they took their time. A short article divided into two parts. The polititdal conclusions are again put off to the following week. Why? Perhaps to make room for Radek's calumniations against the Russian Opposition that appeared in the same number?...Then what was the line of the Leninbund on the most important question of international policy in the course of these six weeks? No one knows.

That won't do. Such methods weaken the Leninbund and render the best service not only to Thaelmann but to Brandler.

For him who knows the history of the Russian Opposition, it is clear that Urbahns expresses in an embarrassed manner the very opinions that the Stalinists have so perifidiously and with such bad faith attributed to the Opposition. Dishonestly concealing our documents from the workers, the Stalinists tirelessly repeated and printed it in tens of millions of copies, that the Opposition considers the October revolution lost, Thermidor accomplished, and that it is directing its course towards bourgeois democracy. It is beyond question of doubt that Stalin's successes in the organization were in no small measure assured by the incessant spreading of this lie. But how great must be the stupefaction, and with it also the indignation, of the Russian Opposition when they find in the publications of the Leninbund, in a concealed form, this friendly counsel: Take the road that Stalinists have so long attempted to foist upon you.

This question assumes an all the sharper character because there are little gentlemen among the ultra-Leftists who whisper in each other's ear: the Russian Opposition itself agrees that Thermidor is accomplished, only it does not say so out of "diplomatic" considerations. How far from a revolutionary position one must be to admit that among revolutionists there can exist for a single minute such excreable duplicity! Only one thing can be said: the poison of Zinovievist and Maslowist cynicism has left its traces in the ranks of the ultra-Leftists. The sooner the Opposition rids itself of such elements the better for it.

The program article we have analyzed, which seems to draw a balance of the "discussion", contains frequent allusions to the effect that on various questions Urbahns was right while all the others were wrong (declaration of the Russian Opposition on October 16, 1926; the question of creating the Leninbund not as a faction but as an independent party with its own candidates; the question of the First of May and the First of August, 1929, etc.) I think it would have been better if the article had not raised these questions, for each one of them indicates a definite mistake by comrade Urbahns, which he has not yet understood. I will not speak at all of the thoroughly wrong position in 1923-26, when Urbahns together with Maslow and others supported the reaction in the Russian Communist Party and conducted an ultra-Left course in Germany. If necessary, I am ready to return to all these questions and to show that Urbahns' mistakes are all connected, that they are not accidental but come from a certain method of thinking which I cannot call Marxist. In practice, Urbahns' policy consists of vacillations between Korsch and Brandler, or rather in the mechanical combination of Korsch and Brandler.

The Danger of Sectarianism and National Limitedness

In this pamphlet are analyzed differences of opinion that can be designated as strategical. Compared to them, the differences that exist on internal German question appear more as tactical differences, even though they can probably be traced back to two different lines. Nevertheless, these questions will have to be treated separately.

It is incontestable that the basis of the numerous errors of Urbanns in German policy lies in his wrong attitude towards the official Communist party. To consider the Communist Party—not its apparatus of functionaries, but its proletarian kernel and the masses that follow it—as a finished, dead and buried organization, is to fall into sectarianism. As a revolutionary faction, the Leninbund would have been in a position to play a great role. But it cut itself off from development by its pretensions, which are to say the least without foundation, to play the role of a second party.

With the ideological confusion of the Leninbund, its striving to become a "party" as swiftly as possible leads it to accept into its ranks elements that have long ago broken with Leninism and Bolshevism. In its anxiety not to lose these elements, the leadership of the Leninbund deliberately refrains from adopting a deffnite policy on a number of questions, which naturally only confuses and aggravates the situation by driving the disease deeper into the body.

There exist at the moment a good number of "Left" groups and grouplets that march on one and the same place; while guarding their independence, they accuse each other of not going far enough; they pride themselves on not being in one hundred percent agreement with each other; they publish little papers from time and find satisfaction in this illusory existence, without any ground under their feet, without a clear point of view and without perspectives. Feeling their weaknesses, these groups, or rather their directors, are above all afraid of falling under someone's "influence", or have to declare themselves in solidarity with someone—for what would become of that sweet independence contained in the 64 cubic meters required for an editorial chamber?

With that is connected yet another danger.

In the Communist International, the ideological leadership of the Russian party has long ago been replaced by the absolutism of the central apparatus and the dictatorship of the cash box. And while the Right opposition shows no less activity than the Left in its protests against the dictatorship of the apparatus, our positions in this question are nevertheless directly opposed. By its very nature, opportunism is national, since it bases itself upon the local and temporary needs of the proletariat and not upon its historical tasks. International control is intolerable for the opportunists, and they reduce their international relations as much as possible to harmless formalities, thereby imitating the Second International. The Brandlerites will salute the conference of the Right wing opposition in Czecho--Slovakia, exchange amicable notes with the Lovestone group in America, etc., provided that no group prevents the other from conducting it opportunist policy to its own national taste. All this is concealed beneath the cloak of the struggle against bureaucratism and the supremacy of the Russian party.

The Left Opposition can have nothing in common with such practices. International unity is not a decoration for us, but the very axis of our theoretical opinions and our policy. Still, there are not a few ultra-Leftists—and not in Germany alone—who, under the flag of the struggle against the bureaucratic command of the Stalinist apparatus, carry on a seim-conscious apparatus, carry on a semi-concious struggle for the dismemberment of the from international control.

The Russian Opposition has no less need of international connections, of international control than any other section. But I stronger fear that the conduct of comrade Urbahns is not dictated by the desire to intervene actively in Russian affairs—which could only be welcomed—but rather the contrary: by the desire to separate the German Opposition from the Russian.

A sharp lookout must be kept so that, under the pretext of the struggle against bureaucratism, there is no strengthening of tendencies in the Left Opposition toward separatism, which, in turn, would inevitably lead to bureaucratic degeneration not only on an international but on a national scale.

If the question were asked after thorough reflection: from which side is the Left Opposition at present menaced by the danger of bureaucratism and ossification, it would become completely clear that it is **not** from the side of international relations. The exaggerated internationalism of the Comintern could arise—on the basis of the former authority of the Russian party—only under the condition of a state power and a cash box. These "dangers" do not exist for the Opposition. On the contrary, there exist others. The pernicious policy of the bureaucracy leads to unrestrained centrifigual tendencies, and to endeavor to crawl back into a national and consequently a sectarian shell, for by remaining within national limits the Left Opposition could be nothing but a sect.

Conclusions

1. A clear position must be adopted on the question of Thermidor and the class character of the present Soviet state. Korschist tendencies must be mercilessly condemned.

2. The position of determined and unreserved defense of the U. S. S. R. against external dangers must be adopted, which does not exclude, but on the contrary presupposes an intransigeant struggle against Stalinism, in time of war even more than in time of peace.

3. The program of the struggle for "freedom of organization" and all other "liberties" in the U. S. S. R. must be rejected and condemned, for that is the program of bourgeois democracy. To this program of bourgeois democracy must be opposed the slogans and methods of proletarian democracy, which, in the struggle against bureaucratic centrism, has the task of regenerating and fortifying the dictatorship of the proletariat.

4. A clear position must now be adopted in the Chinese question, so that the next stage does not take us by surprise. A stand must be taken either for the "democratic dictatorship" or the permenant revolution in China.

5. It must be clearly established that the Leninbund is a faction and not a party. From that flows a definite policy towards the party (especially during elections).

6. The tendencies towards national separatism must be condemned. We must actively entre the road of international unification of the Left Opposition on the basis of principled unity.

7. It must be recognized that **Die Fahne des Kommunismus** as it is today does not correspond to its designation of the theoretical organ of the Communist Left. It is absolutelly necessary to create in Germany, with the united forces of the German and international Left, a serious Marxist organ capable of giving correct evaluations of the internal policy in Germany in connection with the international situation and its tendencies of development.

These few points, which are far from including all the questions, seem to me the most important and the most pressing.

Constantinople, September 7, 1929

A Letter from the Chinese Oppositionists

Shanghai, November 15, 1929.

Dear Comrade Trotsky:

We, the Chinese Bolshevik-Leninists have been conducting a struggle against Stalinism, for the Platform of the Russian Opposition for a year already. The situation in the Party is not very good. The relations between the Party and ourselves is very bad. We learned of your expulsion —that Thermidorian measure of the Stalinist bureaucracy—only after considerable delay, through the intermediary of the Opposition groups in other countries. We have received a letter giving us your address and we are writing to you forthwith. The Chinese Opposition sends you a hearty Bolshevik greeting.

Just as in other countries, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party is under the direction of Stalinist opportunism. The Stalinist political line has not only suffered a defeat in the past, but will inevitably suffer a new one in the future. If we do not succeed in finally eliminating Stalin from the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese revolution will be unable to enter the path of victory. Unfortunately, we understood the truth of the Russian Opposition very late. As soon as it was known to us, we published the principal documents of the Opposition. Besides that, we have our regular publication. And for some time now we have been organizing a central faction of the whole Chinese Opposition.

It is precisely because our active work is a danger to the opportunist Central Committee of our Party, that it recently expelled a good number of Oppositionists The bureaucrats go still further. **Recently, at Canton, they fired openly upon a comrade who directs the Opposition's activity in the Tcheking section.** This shameful deed of opportunism must be brought to the knowledge of the working class throughout the world so that the workers may have an idea of the real character of the present opportunist bureaucracy which is ready to employ such methods towards the Bolshevik-Oppositionists! But the counter-revolutionary and the opportunist terror cannot halt our forward march. That is why we are fighting even more obstinately. In the end, victory will be with us.

The Opposition in other countries has sent us letters and propaganda literature. Good contact now exists between us.

We have now published a platform of the Chinese Opposition. In the period that **China is now passing through, all our activity must follow the political line traced by this platform.**

The requirements of the situation have obliged us recently to call a national conference of the Opposition. Many active militants participated. All important questions with which we are confronted were discussed.

We wholly approve of the slogan of the Constituent Assembly.

The former opportunist of the Chinese Communist Party, Tchen Du Hsiu (exgeneral secretary of the Party), has been, as you know, expelled for some time. He also fights the Central Committee of the Party. But at bottom he is not against Stalin. Up to now he has not understood the viewpoint of the Opposition. He has simply made use of some passages from the Platform of the Left Opposition against his opponents. We have demanded of Tchen Du-Hsiu: 1. that he publicly declare the Stalinist leadership opportunist; 2. that he openly and honestly condemn his previous opportunist mistakes and that he acknowledge the correctness of the Opposition Platform; 3. that he publicly dissolve his own faction (recently constituted and very weak in numbers). He has rejected our demands and pursues an independent activity. Therefore, we consider that Tchen Du-Hsiu has not broken with opportunism. We have decided to combat him, like every opportunist.

Certain of our comrades think that the slogan of the United States of Asia can be issued on this continent. Is this slogan correct?

In the present conditions in China, the work is more difficult than in the other countries. But the only way for us is to fight against these difficulties.

We believe that the future development and the consolidation of our activity necessitates the organization of an international faction. What is your opinion?

Warm Bolshevik greetings, Yours,

—P.

(The next issue of the Militant will contain comrade Trotsky's reply to the Chinese Opposition, which deals with some of the burning problems of the movement.)

Φ

$2,500,000 in Profits in 1929

CHICAGO—(FP)—Hart Schaffner and Marx, biggest clothing makers in the world and pioneers in mass production of men's suits on a union basis, took a profit in 1929 of $2,514,676. This equals 16.76% on the capital stock and compares with 17.22% for 1928.

Lenin's Work Lives in the Opposition!

Continued from Page 1

graded all the theoretical thought in the movement today and transformed it into a sleight-of-hand game for jugglers and scamps. For the neo-Leninists of Stalin's school, theory is no longer an instrument, a guide to action, a subject for considered reflection, a weapon against the enemies of the proletariat inside and outside the movement. It has been converted into convenient and constantly changed formulae, recast and readapted to "justify" each new blunder and crime of the leadership.

Exceptionalist or Internationalist?

The essence of Leninism is the application of the teachings of Marx and Engels to the period of imperialism and proletarian revolutions. The theories of Lenin are just as little "Russian" as those of Marx were "German". The favorite argument of the social reformists and revisionists in past decades—and even now—has been that while Marxism **might** be applicable to Europe, or to Europe of the last century, it did not apply to the United States, for example, or to Europe today. The argument of all national and social reformists today, of those to whom the name of socialist or revlutionary still applies only because of past associations, is that Leninism **might** be suitable for "backward Russia" but that it does not apply to highly developed industrial countries. The arch-type of this school is the Austrian social democracy. The new and shame-faced converts to this idea are the Right wing groups in the Communist movement. For them, Lenin's essence lies not so much in his internationalism as it does in his "exceptionalism". A recent article by one of the Right wing spokesmen even speaks of "Lenin the Exceptionalist"!

It is of course unnecessary to share the conception of the present Communist party leadership, according to which the stage and rate of development of the situation in every country is unchanged and unchangeable—an enormous idiocy which only strengthens the hand of the Right wing—in order to reject out of hand the vulgar national "Communism" of the latter. What essentially characterized Lenin was not his emphasis upon the national peculiarities of the struggle in each country, but the fundamentally international features of the Communist party. On more than a hundred occasions, Lenin underlined the fact that while there were differences in the stage of development of the various countries, the basic tenets of Bolshevism were universally applicable despite these differences. "We have now considerable experience, of an international scope, which pretty definitely establishes the fact that some fundamental features of our revolution are not local, not peculiarly national, not Russian only, but that they are of international significance. And I say' international significance' not in the broad sense of the word; not some features, but all fundamental and secondary features are in the sense of their influence upon other countries, of international significance." (—Lenin, our emphasis.)

From Hillquit to Lovestone

The spokesmen for the opposing viewpoint used to be Hillquit, Longuet, Wallhead, Crispien and Bauer. Later on, they were Lazzari, Frossard, Phillips Price and Levi. Today they are Thalheimer, Sellier, Huber and Lovestone. And while these names are mentioned, let it be added that Lovestone is one hundred percent correct when he writes in a recent number of his paper that while he and his co-thinkers are condemned for "exceptionalism" in every part of the world, it is not only practised but is the official theory of Stalin in the Soviet Union in the form of "socialism in one country."

In spite of either Stalin or Thalheimer, Leninism and internationalism are as inseparable as Leninism and "national communisim" are incompatible. The man who stands out in his work is not so much Lenin the Russian Bolshevik, but Lenin the international revolutionist who led the Left wing in the Second International, who laid the foundation stone for the Third, who poured out his vitriolic denunciation upon the heads of traitors who gave lip-service to "internationalism" and sent their followers into the trenches in order to defend their "national interests"; Lenin the internationalist, who considered the Russian revolution as a temporary outpost of the world's working class, a fortress to be defended at all costs until the workers of other countries could save it for socialism by overthrowing their own bourgeoisie.

That it is necessary to emphasize and argue these features in Lenin's theoretical conceptions, despite the fact that they are the very heart of his works, is only an indication of the extremes to which the false disciples of Leninism have gone to suppress, distort and falsify his views. The greatest crime of Stalinism lies precisely in that fact. Stalinism can exist only at the expense of Leninism. It can live only by concealing or lying about Lenin's views.

Nowhere in history can a parallel be found to the six years of misrepresentation to which the official apparatus has subjected Lenin. Not even the falsification of Marx by the reformists before the war can equal—for cynical distortion, for disloyalty, for deliberate organized and outrageous lying—the campaign by Stalin-Bucharin-Zinoviev to devitalize Lenin. The most incredible enormities have been comitted in an attempt to cover up the sins of Centrism and the Right wing in the Communist movement with the name of Lenin. So deeply ingrained in this horrible desecration have the Stalinist functionaries become that they can calmly reprint an article from Pravda on the 50th birthday of Stalin which is an insult to the intelligence of the reader and to the memory of Lenin. Stalin, upon whose removal from the post of party secretary Lenin insisted as one of the means of preventing a party split, whom Lenin denounced as rude and disloyal, is described as Lenin's loyal disciple! Stalin, who considered Lenin's contribution to the discussion on national questions as "superfluous", at whose activity in Georgia Lenin said he was "outraged", is characterized as the greatest theoretician of the Bolshevik party on the national question! Stalin is even credited with organizing and leading the Red Army to victory against the counter-revolution! A few years ago such hair-raising insolence would have been considered the work of a humorist or a madman. Today it is part of the official and solemnly accepted version of Lenin, his work and his views.

It is in this abominable falsification of Lenin that the greatest danger lies to the revolutionary movement. The big problem now is to unearth Lenin's truth from beneath the garbage of falsehood and revision and to reestablish it as the guide of the movement, just as Lenin reestablished the principles of Marxism in spite of their emasculation by the Kautskys of the world. That task has ben assumed by the International Leninist Opposition. It is being carried out under the leadership of the greatest living revolutionist, L. D. Trotsky, the closest comrade of Lenin, the exiled warrior who provokes venomous fear of those who floated to the top in the swamp of centrism and inspires a deep regard and devotion to Bolshevism in every proletarian fighter. Not only on the anniversaries of Lenin, but every day in the year, the militants in our ranks will reconsecrate themselves to this task, for without being equipped with the teachings of Lenin the proletariat is unarmed and helpless, and cannot accomplish its destiny. In the struggle for Bolshevism carried on by the International Opposition, Lenin and Leninism live.

M. S.

CARRY OUT LENIN'S WILL!

Lenin's Last Words to the Party, Still Suppressed by the Stalinists

By the stability of the Central Committee, of which I spoke before, I mean measures to prevent a split, so far as such measures can be taken. For, of course, the White Guard in **Russkye Mysl** (I think it was S. E. Oldenburg) was right when, in the first place, in his play against Soviet Russia he banked on the hope of a split in our party, and when, in the second place, he banked for that split on serious disagrements in our party.

Our party rests upon two classes, and for that reason its instability is possible, and if there cannot exist an agreement between these classes its fall is inevitable. In such an event it would be useless to take any measures or in general to discuss the stability of our Central Committee. In such an event no measures would prove capable of preventing a split. But I trust that is too remote future, and too improbable an event, to talk about.

I have in mind stability as a guarantee against a split in the near future, and I intend to examine here a series of considerations of a purely personal character.

I think that the fundamental factor in the matter of stability—from this point of view—is such members of the Central Committee as Stalin and Trotsky. The relation between them constitutes, in my opinion, a big half of the danger of that split, which might be avoided, and the avoidance of which might be promoted in my opinion, by raising the number of members of the Central Committee to fifty or one hundred.

Comrade Stalin, having become General Secretary, has concentrated an enormous power in his hands; **and I am not sure that he always knows how to use that power with sufficient caution.** On the other hand comrade Trotsky, as was proved by his struggle against the Central Committee in connection with the question of the People's Commissariat of Ways and Communication, is distinguished not only by his exceptional ability—**personally he is to be sure, the most able man in the present Central Committee,** but also by his too far-reaching self-confidence and a disposition to be far too much attracted by the purely adminstrative side of affairs.

These two qualities of the two most able leaders of the present Central Committee might, quite innocently, lead to a split, if our party does not take measures to prevent it, a split might arise unexpectedly.

I will not further characterize the other members of the Central Committee as to their personal qualities. I will only remind you that the October episode of Zinoviev and Kameneff were not , of course, accidental, but that it ought as little to be used against them as the non-Bolshevism of Trotsky.

Of the younger members of the Central Committee, I want to say a few words about Piatakov and Bucharin. They are, in my opinion, the most able forces (among the youngest), and in regard to them it is necessary to bear in mind the following: Bucharin is not only the most valuable and biggest theoretician of the Party, but also may legitimately be considered the favorite of the whole party; **but his theoretical views can only with the very greatest doubt be regarded as fully Marxist, for there is something scholastic in him (he never has learned, and I think never fully understood the dialectic.)**

And then Piatakov—a man undoubtedly distinguished in will and ability, but too much given over to the administrative side of things to be relied on in a serious political question.

Of course, both these remarks are made by me merely with a view of the present time, or supposing that these two able and loyal workers may not find an occasion to supplement their knowledge and correct their one-sidedness.

December 25, 1922

Postcript: **Stalin is too rude,** and this fault, entirely supportable in relations among us Communists, **becomes unsupportable in the office of General Secretary. Therefore , I propose to the comrades to find a way to remove Stalin from that position** and appoint to it another man who in all respects differs from Stalin only in superiority—namely, **more patient, more loyal, more polite and more attentive to comrades, less capricious, etc.** This circumstance **may seem an insignificant trifle,** but I think that **from the point of view of preventing a split** and from the point of view of the relation between Stalin and Trotsky which I discussed above, **it is not a trifle, or it is such a trifle as may acquite a decisive significance.**

LENIN

January 4, 1923

Ford's Parts Factories Drive Workers

By ROBERT L. CRUDEN

DETROIT—(FP)—While Ford is reaping the harvest of a high wage propraganda, workers are working in plants making Ford parts straining under the 12-hour day and low wages.

Ford gets his wheels from the Kelsey-Hayes Wheel Corp. This plant runs its men seven days a week, two 12-hour shifts a day. A worker, if he is lucky, may make 65 cents an hour—but he'll be more than lucky if he is able to walk up the street to get a car. The speed maintained on the Ford wheel line is terrific. Kelsey workers told Federated Press. "If you thought Ford speed could ony hold eight hours a day you ought to wrok on our line," said one wrker. "We have a Ford boss and for 12 hours we got to go like shots out of hell. But you can't keep it up long. Three or four weeks lay you out."

The Briggs Mfg. Co. makes many Ford bodies. This plant is notorious among auto workers for its low wages, high accident rate and shameless exploitation of women workers. According to the state law, women are supposed to have stools when working. Very few women with whom your corresspondent has talked have had these. Women are not supposed to work more than 54 hours per week but workers are not lacking who claim that they had to punch two separate time cards in order to evade the law. Attempts to have these women persecute have failed because they fear that if they do they will not be able to get a job in Detroit again, thanks to the blacklist and spy system.

This corporation recently took back some of its old workers—at 42 cents an hour. The workers have to work at high speed among machinery which for the most part is quite unprotected. A steady stream of Briggs workers pours into the company hospital all the time the plant is running, having lost their fingers, hands or whatnot.

Visitors are barred from the Briggs plants.

From such sources as these the Ford fortunes rise. These are the "economics of production" which make possible the low priced Ford and high Ford profits.

PITTSBURG—(FP)—Trustification of Pittsburg's taxicab companies has been followed by a walkout of 1,500 taxi-drivers. The first act of the taxi merger was to cut wages, and the next act in the labor drama saw 1,000 drivers in Moose Hall to form a union.

The merger was effected by the Parmalee system. W ithin 48 hours after the announcement of the reduction, all the drivers involved had signed up in the union with demands for recognition, a 40% flat commission and a 10-hour day. The company flatly refused to receive a union committee or discuss their demands.

The new union men, meeting in Moose Hall pledged their solidarity while news was brought that drivers of an independent firm had walked out in sympathy with the strikers, making similar demands.

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The Depression and Labor

Prospects for the Approaching Struggles in the United States

By Arne Swabeck

The American workers are now confronted with the prospect of an already advancing industrial depression. The questions of their preparations to meet it, the political development of the workers themselves, their degree of organization and their conception of the tactics to be employed, become vitally important. There need be no doubt about growing discontent and more severe struggles in the coming period.

That this is recognized by the capitalist class is most clearly evidenced in the increased anti-labor drive. It was demonstrated in the editorials carried by the Scripps-Howard Newspaper syndicate at the time of the American Federation of Labor convention at Toronto. The employers have become thoroughly alarmed at the appearance of Communists organizing, by militant methods, among a formerly backward but now awakening working class in the South. Hence they turn to the A. F. of L. officials demanding that they be the ones to organize and "lead". More recently it was shown in the Hoover "building conferences" in which A. F. of L. heads promised that there would be no movements for wage increases undertaken in the immediate future—that is, during the depression.

The Role of the A. F. of L.

This also indicates the role to be played and the perspectives of the A. F. of L. in the coming period. It is worth noting the most recent developments among the needle trades workers in the ladies garment and furriers sections, formerly largely under left wing influence. The A. F. of L. has actually succeeded in reestablishing its organization and "leadership". It has gained in co-operation with the employers, almost complete control of the jobs and membership dues payments. Among the New York food workers, where militants have lately been active in organization work, the A. F.of L. is now initiating an organizing campaign. The Toronto convention resloved to organize the South and the plans worked out are about to be put to test. The United Textile Workers union will have leadership and what it terms any form of spectacular mass drive is banned. Negroes will be organized on approval of "white locals" in the district, and—in separate locals.

Comments on the general organization policy to be pursued in this drive are quite superfluous as it is clearly indicated that there will be no departure from the general practice established by the A. F. of L. officials. Even among the hard boiled Bourbons of the South the main effort will be directed toward winning the bosses for co-operation with the labor "leaders" who have sufficiently proven their willingness to the greatest reciprocation in selling out the workers at the crucial moment. One question of the greatest importance, however, is whether or not the campaign will succeed in actually bringing the Southern textile workers into the U. T. W. The oft repeated statements of the **Daily Worker** that these workers, disgusted with the betrayals of the A. F. of L. in 1920-21 and recently, will never join its ranks are neither convincing nor true.

A comparision of events in the South, the frame-ups in Gastonia and the killings in Marion, clearly reveals that the Southern textile barons are set against any form of union or organization, whether led by Communists or by A.F. of L. officials. They will tolerate A. F. of L. "leadership" only so long as it is effective in helping to wipe out militant unions. Yet it would be idle to speculate on no results in the A. F. of L. organization drive. There are many reasons to assume that the Southern workers, driven by increasing speed-up pressure added to which there now appears the missery of unemployment, will respond and join, perhaps in large numbers, despite the sell-outs of the past. So much more so because the National Textile Workers union, under Communist Party direction, follows the usual method of practically abandoning a field when the opportunity for spectacular activities disappears. All recent history shows that during periods of industrial crisis workers flock to conservative unions. Nor is there anything horrible in this prospect when one remembers the development of the British trade unions from one of docile support of the capitalist empire to a situation where the general strike could become a possibility in 1926. Now the process of developments proceed at a much more accelerated pace.

The Pressure of the Ranks

The prospects of growth of the A. F. of L. are not confined to the South. The developing industrial depression not only offers excellent opportunities for organization but is certain to throw large sections of the unorganized workers into the lap of the A. F. of L. Extended organization in this period will inevitably mean greater pressure from the ranks against the present wage cutting, speed-up campaign and for more persistent struggle to obtain the demands corresponding to their growing needs. If anyone doubts the probability of such struggles developing on the basis of A. F. of L. organization, or denies their probability, we might refer to such recent examples as the New Orleans street carmen's strike and the Marion textile workers' strike.

That this will not in the least mean any change of policy or outlook in the upper layer of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy is of course amply proven by all past experiences. On the contrary, the demands of their capitalist masters will increase correspondingly and their faithful service will be expressed in more co-operation with these masters and the state powers in the violent suppression and cunning betrayal of workers' struggles. Especially will they attempt to buttress their own dominance over working class ideology by efforts to exterminate Left wing unions and any form of organized Left wing sentiment.

Yet is is under such conditions that new opposition develops. The "progressive" movement, already emerging within the A. F. of L. since the Left wing practically abandoned that field, was a natural first expression. But it was stillborn. It appeared in the form of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, dominated by the Socialist Party and, although having a progressive platform, it was based rather upon certain sections of the trade union officialdom than upon the main stream of organized workers. Hence, while being an outgrowth and expression of dissatisfaction with the official policies of the A. F. of L., it lacked the dynamic force for becoming a real opposition and its course of complete merger with the bureaucracy is pretty well decided unless pressure from below and from within forces it in a Leftward direction. To conceive of relying upon the "progressive" leaders to develop a real opposition would of course be folly. But the gap created among the workers by their leadership of a growing progressive sentiment—leading it backward—and that of the Left wing leading it forward, can most successfully be bridged by correct united front policies of the latter. In the recent period the exact opposite has been the case with the result of further isolation of the Left within the mass organizations and easier diverting of opposition sentiment into harmless channels. Nevertheless, such sentiment remains and is bound to grow. Its correct direction is still a task to be performed.

The present trends among workers are characteristic of what can be expected from the muture course of development. There is a restlessness over the prospect of employment with the ranks of the unemployed increasing. There is discontent with the growing speed-up exploitation, and here and there distinctly manifested readiness for struggle, with some instances of workers swinging toward the Left. These are some of the outstanding features. With a protracted severity of industrial depression it can easily lead to convulsions. But this does not mean that the working masses recognize the role of the A. F. of L. "leadership", of the so-called progressives, of the social democrats, or that they are ready for the leadership of the Communist Party. They are still far from it and several steps will yet have to be taken considerable experience will still have to be accumulated before the workers reach that point.

A False Assumption

It would be preposterous to assume that for instance the main body of the steel workers, actually enrolled into unions in the 1919 drive and then left in the lurch have learned a sufficient lesson to be able to distinguish between leaderships. Even among the coal miners, where union official corruption and betrayal have yielded numerous bitter experiences, where the rank and file are far ahead of the workers in other industries in their readiness for struggle, the National Miners Union, under openly acknowledged Communist leadership, has thus far succeeded in enlisting the support of only a very small fraction (this, in large measure is also due to wrong policies which will be dealt with in separate articles).

Growing radicalization of the American workers, while likely to be accompanied by sporadic, unorganized struggles, essentially mean their turning more definitely toward union organization—mainly toward the existing mass unions without being able to comprehend the character of the A. F. of L. "leadership". A turn toward the building of a labor party is also likely. In one instance—the last New York City elections—the large increase in votes by the Socialist Party ticket, reaching a total of tens of thousands while that of the Communist Party ticket decreased to a little less than 6,000, is, despite the seeming paradox, an expression of radicalization in an American scale. Thousands of the workers who voted for the S. P. did so with the conviction of taking a step toward the Left, away from capitalism and toward socialism, without being able as yet to understand the character of the S. P. leadership or the distance that the party has moved away from socialism. In that sense and to that degree they expressed their growing radicalism. There is no other basis upon which that vote increase can be evaluated. If these workers had wanted to remain ideologically as they were before—supporters of capitalism—they would naturally have continued to vote for the Republicans and Democrats, This and subsequent events also indicates that the S. P. and its social reformist leadership will change from its years of relative obscurity and paralysis, and become more of a factor misleading the workers. The course of working class radicalization in this course and the blunders of the official Communist party, gives it that opportunity. Nevertheless, the fact of the workers actually taking the first steps away from capitalist ideology and toward union organization is what holds out great hope and great possibilities for the revolutionary movement.

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The problem of the new industrial unions will be considered in the next issue of the **Militant**.—A. S.

The St. Louis Unemployment Demonstration

ST. LOUIS—The march of 1500 unemployed workers to the local City Hall to present a set of demands to the Mayor was one of the best working class demonstrations that St. Louis has seen for a long time. The spirit of the workers and the readiness with which they responded to the call for the march is an indication of their temper and the severity with which the industrial depression has hit them.

St. Louis Hard Hit

St. Louis is one of the most heavily affected industrial centers. Industry is at a low point, and thousands of workers walk the streets desperately seeking any job at all that will offer them the barest possibility to live. The prospects for an industrial pick-up are far from bright here and instead of the ranks of the unemployed becoming thinner, they increase in number every day. A conservative estimate of the number now out of work in St. Louis is about sixty thousand workers.

In order to begin the mobilization of the employed and unemployed workers in the city for a fight to improve the frightful conditions of the jobless, the local branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition)) together with the Workers Alliance of St. Lousis, planned the organization of a workers' march on the City Hall, where demands for the unemployed might be presented and a public forum be established so that an appeal that would reach the ears of the whole working class of the city could be made.

Without the bombast and cheap sensationalism that usually accompany the "mass demonstrations" of the official party, the League and the Alliance made all the necessary preparations for the march. In an effort to make the movement inclusive of all the radical elements in the city, an appeal was made to the local branch of the Communist party to join in the work and help organize the unemployed. The reply of the Stalinists—represented by one of the travelling "organizers", D. T. Early—was that they would have nothing to do with the "counter-revolutionary Trotskists", particularly since they were "dead". The local Stalinists showed that all their words about the conditions of the unemployed workers could not be transalated into action but would remains just so much talk.

Leaflets were issued by the Communist League and distributed among the unemployed workers who received them with enthusiasm. The demands proposed by the League included the following:

Demands Proposed

1. Complete insurance against unemployment to be provided by the government, giving all unemployed benefits of the full wage rates, without any exceptions or disqualifications. The insurance to be financed by taxes on income, inheritance, and profits, and the administration of unemployment benefits to be in the hands of the workers, elected from the shops, and the organizations of the unemployed.

2. No evictions of the unemployed for non-payment of rent.

3. Emergency relief to be provided for the unemployed immediately, from city, state and federal funds.

4. Full union wages on all public workes, with the workers' right to organize and strike against discrimination and bad working conditions.

5. Abolition of private employment agencies; the establishment of free employment agencies, administered by workers' representatives.

6. Recognition of Soviet Russia, the only workers' and farmers' government in the world. This would alleviate employment through increased trade which Soviet Russia would place in the United States if relations were established.

7. Establishment of the seven-hour day and five-day week. No overtime work. Abolition of the speed-up system; 15 minute rest periods hourly, regulation of machine speed by the workers.

8. Immediate abolition of all "vagrancy" laws.

On the day of the demonstration, 1500 or more workers gathered at the appointed place and marched to the City Hall. The Mayor refused to see them. On the top steps of the City Hall, Elmer McMillan, leading St. Louis militant, read the demands of the Communist League and spoke in detail upon them. He was followed by Ralph Martin of the Alliance who spoke on the need for organizing the struggle against unemployemnt.

Cops Break up the Meeting

By this time, the Mayor had given his orders for dispersing the demonstration and a gang of cops and dicks sallied into the crowd. McMillan and Martin were arrested and taken to headquarters half a block away. The workers followed them, cheering and shouting for their release. After an hour of questioning by the cops the two militants were released.

As a result of the demonstration, thousands of workers throughout the city learned for the first time of an organized attempt being made to carry on a fight against the specter of unemployment. The secretary of the Communist League has been receiving numerous letters from workers throughout the city endorsing the movement and congratulating the League on its activity. A number of old time militants who had dropped out of the Communist movement some time ago have revivied their interest and are turning toward the League particularly since the official party is doing nothing at all.

Plans are further being made for the continuation of the work in the form of protest meetings, the organization of Councils of Unemployed, and the formation of a broad united movement to combat the effects of unemployment on the workers.

This movement is meeting neither with approval of the St. Louis business men and their Mayor, Miller, or of the local A. F. of L. bureaucrats. For instance, Elmer McMillan is now up on charges before his local Painters Union for having participated in the demonstration. He is charged with being a member of a Communist organization. This is not the first time the reactionaries have tried to expel McMillan. A fight against these tactics is being organized